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THE SAMARITAN LITURGY, AND READING OF THE LAW.

I.

It is not intended to attempt here a description of Samaritan literature, a satisfactory account of which is to be found elsewhere,¹ nor even to deal exhaustively with the liturgical section of it, but simply to call attention (so far as is possible within the limits of an article) to some of the chief points of interest in the latter. With the exception of the few hymns published by Gesenius in 1824, and the fuller selection of Dr. M. Heidenheim in recent years, the Liturgy is only accessible in MSS., so that its extent and elaborate character have not been very generally recognised. To give some idea of this, it may be mentioned that the collection in the Berlin library, for example, consists of some twelve stout quarto volumes—not to mention duplicates. Much of this, of course, is biblical: the rest will shortly be published, with a translation, by the Clarendon Press.

The interest of the compositions consists not in their antiquity, for the earliest date that can be certainly assigned to any is the fourth century C.E., but in the view they present of the religious development of an obscure tribe surrounded by conflicting religious systems, and yet holding aloof from all. The beginning of the Liturgy, as at present constituted, may be safely placed in the time of Baba Rabba, 322 to 362 C.E., who, according to a chronicle,²

¹ See Nutt, *A Sketch of Samaritan History, Dogma, and Literature*, London, 1874.

² Called Eltholideh, of various dates. Edited by Neubauer, with translation, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1869, p. 385 seq.

restored the services of the Synagogue. That some sort of Liturgy was in use previously is indeed probable, and some of the existing prayers, of which no author is named, may have formed part of it; but there is no proof one way or the other. It is more than probable that the earlier Liturgy consisted of passages of the Law almost exclusively. Under the direction of Baba Rabba a new departure was apparently made, a large and important body of prayers and hymns for various occasions being composed by Marqah¹ and Amram Darah. Amram's work is called after him the *דראן*, and their joint productions form the larger part of the Defter (*διφθέρα*), a common Arabic word for book. Before them stand a few prayers for daily and Sabbath use, whose authors are not named, and also the so-called prayers "of Joshua b. Nun," "of Moses b. Amram," and "of the Holy Angels." These *may* be from the earlier Liturgy. The following from the opening prayer, to be said at the beginning of every service, will give some idea of their general character²:—

"I stand before thee at the door of thy mercy, O Lord! my God, and the God of my fathers, to speak forth thy praise and thy manifold greatness, according to my feeble strength, for I know³ mine infirmity this day, and consider in my heart that thou, Lord, art God in heaven above and upon the earth beneath; there is none else beside him. Wherefore in thy hands I stand, and turn my face towards the chosen place, Mount Gerizim, the house of God, toward Luz, the mount⁴ of thine inheritance and of thy presence, the place which thou hast made thy dwelling, O Lord, the

¹ Several pieces were published by Heidenheim in his *Vierteljahrsschrift, passim*, more in his *Samaritanische Liturgie*, Leipzig, 1885. Part of a commentary by him was edited by Baneth (*Des Samaritaners Marqah . . . Abhandlung*, Berlin, 1888), and another part of the same by E. Munk (*Des Samaritaners Marqah Erzählung, etc.*, Berlin, 1890, v. JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW), both from the unique MS. at Berlin.

² It is cited as על פתח רחמין. The text published by Heidenheim, *Op. cit.*, p. 130, is here corrected from two MSS.

³ Deut. iv. 39.

⁴ Exod. xv. 17.

sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hand hath fashioned. The Lord shall reign for ever and ever, for great is the Lord above all gods: righteous and upright is he. This, my prayer, is to the Preserver, the Living, for it goeth up to the Unseen, before him who knoweth the unseen things. Where is any God that helpeth his worshippers but thou? Blessed be thy name for ever. There is no God but one!"

The Defter contains by far the most important, the earliest, and most frequently-used pieces. It would seem, in fact, that until the fourteenth century this was a sort of *Corpus Liturgicum*, whence selections were made for special occasions. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, C.E., this *corpus* was further extended (as was the case with Rabbinical liturgies) by the admission into the Defter of hymns and prayers by Abulhassan (אב חסדה), the Tyrian,¹ who died some time before 1070, and Ab Gelugah (אב גלוגה), about the middle of the twelfth century, possibly a grandson of the former. Considering the miserable condition of the people from the fourth century onward, it is not likely that they produced much liturgical work in the interval, It is not, however, impossible that some has been lost, for even in Samaria they had prayer-book revisers who omitted older and better prayers to make room for the recent compositions of their friends. This was certainly the fate of some of Ab Gelugah's work, for two long prayers of his in *Cod. Vat.* iii. are not found either in the Berlin copy or in the two copies belonging to the Earl of Crawford.² This second period, which was poor in liturgical work, was exceedingly rich in theology. Abulhassan himself was the author of polemical and exegetical works, and Abu Said,

¹ Eltholideh mentions colonies of Samaritans at Acco, Gaza, Gerar, Cæsarea, Damascus, and in Egypt. Jacob, who wrote the continuation of Eltholideh in the middle of the fourteenth century, was priest at Damascus, and there was a congregation there still in the sixteenth century; but it must have died out soon after.

² Or perhaps some of the prayers were only local. Ab Gelugah belonged to Acco.

probably his son, wrote the Arabic version of the Pentateuch.¹

The third period of liturgical composition began in the fourteenth century. Up to that time, it will be remembered, there existed only the Defter in an extended form; there were no special services, properly speaking, for Feasts or Fasts. The credit of first starting these is due to Pinhas b. Joseph, High Priest at Shechem from 1331 to 1387, a man who, though his sphere of action was restricted, fully deserves the title of "Great." By his own writings and by encouragement of others he gave an impulse to religion and to literature which lasted through the next two centuries, and can hardly be said, even yet, to have entirely died away. To his time and influence belong not only all the special services, but also the *Chronicle of Abulfath*, and other works on grammar, lexicography, theology, and the like.² The writers of liturgy, with whom alone we are now concerned, are, of course, unknown outside the narrow circle of Samaritan history. The most famous are: Abisha, son of the great Pinhas (not to be confounded with the biblical Abisha), an author second only to Marqah in popular esteem; his brother Eleazar, often called, for the sake of distinction, אֵלְעָזָר אֲבִישָׁה; Abisha's son, Pinhas, with his guardian, Abd Allah b. Shelomoh, a prolific writer; and Saad Allah, or Saad ed-Din. These all come within the century 1330—1430. The evidence for their dates is very much scattered, but fairly well established. As an instance of the way in which it has to be gathered, and of the curious phenomenon of personal history mixed up with liturgical composition, the following, by Pinhas b. Abisha, from a hymn for the Day of Atonement,

¹ For other writers, see Nutt, *op. cit.*, pp. 138, *seqq.* Also Wreschner, *Samaritanische Traditionen*, Berlin, 1888, pp. xvii. *seqq.*, whose conclusions differ from mine in some points.

² I am inclined also, with Vilmar (*Abulfalthe Annales*, Gothæ, 1865, p. xxxvi.), to ascribe the "invention" of the famous roll of Abisha to this Pinhas.

may be of interest¹:—"Before we read in the Book of Moses the Prophet, I will make mention of that which is meet to be remembered; for that which is worthy is stored up in my thoughts, concerning the pious ones (?) your ministers. The head of them is my grandfather Pinhas, and after him came the affliction (*i.e.*, death?) of my father. I saw not his face, and he beheld not my face, nor taught me his words nor the divisions of the Scripture. After him was none left save only my uncle Eleazar. By him I was cherished, and my heart was strengthened. I was left (?) an orphan, yet he ceased not to love me. But behold the star (*i.e.*, Abd Allah b. Shelomoh) who taught me and brought me up! The Lord reward his work with good, and command the blessing upon him!" etc. The next important Liturgist is Abraham (אַבְרָהָם), early in the sixteenth century—the last, perhaps, who can claim much literary merit. The remaining authors are chiefly indebted to Marqah, Abisha, and the earlier writers for such inspiration as they can show; they are for the most part either members of the Danfi family, as Marjân (also called סַכּוּיָה אַבְרָם), and Meshalmah, in the last century; or of the Levitical² family, as Tobiah (also called Ghazâl), and his son Shelomoh in the present century. The latest composition I have seen is by Pinhas b. Isaac, written within the last twenty years. The present priest, Jacob b. Aaron b. Shelomoh b. Tobiah, seems to inherit the *scribendi κακότηες* of his family.

At the risk of being tedious, the above very imperfect list is given to show the range of this class of literature. The names have been identified and dates assigned (in the absence of history) only by a careful examination of the epigraphs of all available MSS.

¹ From *MS. Samar.*, c. 5 fol. 68^b, in the Bodleian Library. The text is not quite certain, but I have no opportunity of collating it at present.

² The "House of Aaron" died out in 1624, up to which time the priest called himself הַכֹּהֵן הַגִּדּוּל. The office then went to another branch, the priest being called הַכֹּהֵן הַלֵּוִי.

Before proceeding to describe the contents of the Liturgy, it may be well to say a word as to their language. All is not Samaritan which comes from Samaria. The name should properly be restricted to the Aramaic dialect of the Targum; that is to say, the language spoken by the Samaritans in the fourth century C.E. Its form, however, is not very well fixed even by Petermann's splendid edition, and a careful examination of his various readings shows not only a great variety of forms and of words, but a distinct Hebraizing tendency in at least one of the MSS. (C.) used.¹ In this dialect are written the compositions of the first Liturgical period, by Marqah, Amram, etc. Since these are numerous, and the MSS. (at least of some texts) are many, it might be thought that they would help considerably in fixing the forms of the dialect. But this is not so. The oldest Liturgical MS. now in Europe (of the Defter, in the Vatican) is not earlier than the fourteenth century, when the dialect had already long been supplanted in popular use by Arabic. Later MSS. vary so much that it is often difficult to decide whether, *e.g.*, לוֹ for לָהּ, כֹּם for כּוֹן, and more important differences, are due merely to the carelessness of the scribe. Even when the text is tolerably certain it is often difficult to interpret. The following from a Litany of Marqah will illustrate this. The text, which is quite certain, is:—

תשבחן ורבוּאן נִימֵר אֱלֹא מַפְנֶה מִן אִכְהָ לִמֵּן דְּמֹוֹרֵךְ עַד לַעֲלֵם
חִילָה מֹוֹחִי לֵן מִגֵּן וְאִנֵּן מִקְנִין לָהּ עַל מִגֵּן אֵן מֹוֹחִי לֵן וְאֵן
מִמִּית לֵן תִּרְתִּיה בְּשִׁלְטָן רִבּוּתֵךְ :

“Praise and glory let us speak, before we turn away from this place, to him who endureth for ever, the Almighty who giveth us life freely, though we anger him wantonly. Whether thou give us life or death, both are in the power of thy majesty!”

Heidenheim² translates אֱלֹא מַפְנֶה מִן אִכְהָ “dem Gotte

¹ These may be due to local differences of translation.

² *Vierteljahrsschrift*, vol. ii. (1865), p. 487.

bereitet von dem Vergänglichem." Geiger¹ corrects "without ceasing, from henceforth." Geiger translates חִילָה "his strength"; but the word is חֵילָה, "the power," the equivalent in meaning (and probably in sound) of אֱלֹהִים. Heidenheim translates מוֹחֵי לֵן מִגֵּן וְאֵן מִקְבִּין לֵה עַל מִגֵּן, "our protector is destroyed, and we bewail our protector." Both translate תִּרְחִיָּה "thou art merciful."

In the second period (eleventh and twelfth centuries) the language is still Aramaic, but it was by then "a tongue not understood of the people." It has an admixture of Hebrew, and many words already must be explained from Arabic. In the third period the language is Hebrew, which deteriorates more and more in quality, until it reaches its complete decadence as it approaches our own time. It was clearly in no sense a living language, and was only employed, as among the Jews, because it was the sacred tongue.

We may now pass to the *arrangement* of the religious year, which depends upon the two conjunctions (צִמּוּר) of the sun and moon (1.) of Pesah, (2.) of Succoth. The calculation of these is so important that, according to Ben Manir (*MS. Samar. E. 2*, fol. 13*b*., in the Bodleian Library), the secret of it comes down preserved "from the days of the creation, from the angels to the father of mankind, from Noah to Shem and Eber, to Abraham, the son of Terah, to him who dwelt at Gerar, to him who said, 'How dreadful,' to Moses, who received the Law, to Aaron, the venerable priest, to Eleazar, who offered the incense, to Phinehas, who stayed the plague, and set up the calculation on Mount Gerizim, by the oak of Moreh," etc. But the word צִמּוּר not only meant the conjunction of sun and moon, which regulates the beginning of the month, it has the secondary meaning of an assembly of the congregation, for the purpose of paying the half-shekel (Exod. xxx. 13). "Why is it called צִמּוּר?" says Abisha. "Because in it

¹ *Z. d. M. G.*, xxi., p. 181.

Israel are gathered together in their assemblies, which are hallowed, . . . and they take and give every man a ransom for his soul."¹

Taking the festivals in order, there is then a special service for the Sabbath of the *צמורת* of Pesah,² which is *י" ברתח מועדי*—for the first of Nisan—for Pesah and Mazzoth—for the six Sabbaths following—for Pentecost (*חמשין*). In the latter part of the year there is the Sabbath of the *צמורת* of Succoth—the first of Tishri,³ *שברון זכרון הרועה מקרא קודש*—the ten penitential days, *יומי הכליחות*—the great Day of Atonement, when the service lasts the whole of the twenty-four hours, the whole Law is read, and at the end of it they exhibit the great roll said to have been written by Abisha, in the thirteenth year after the children of Israel entered Canaan. Then follow the seven days of Succoth and the festival of the eighth day of Succoth, called *והו' התמת מועדי י"מועד השמיני*.⁴ For each of these occasions (except the Day of Atonement) there is a short form of evening prayer, a form for the morning prayer, and generally, as for ordinary Sabbaths, a form for the outgoing (*מפוק*) of the festival. On the great festivals of Pesah, Mazzoth, Hamsin, and Succoth, they make a *חג*, or pilgrimage to the sacred mountain, Gerizim. An interesting account of the *חג הככח*, when the Paschal sacrifice is still slain, and the lambs eaten on Mount Gerizim, is given by Mills,⁵ who witnessed the ceremony in 1860. The services

¹ During a visit I paid to Nâblus in the spring of this year, the priest informed me that the *צמורת* of Pesah was to commemorate the meeting of Moses and Aaron (Exod. iv. 27), and that of Succoth in memory of the death of Aaron. The *צמורת* falls two lunar months before the festival from which it has its name; or rather the date of the festival depends on the date of the *צמורת*.

² See below, in the order for the Reading of the Law.

³ They do not use the ceremony of the *Shophar*.

⁴ There is no mention of *תורה*, but they begin the Law on the Sabbath after *מועד השמיני*: see below.

⁵ *Nablus and the Modern Samaritans*, pp. 248 seqq.

for the three other pilgrimages are much alike. That for the *הג המצות* directs that "the people and the elders shall assemble at the door of the synagogue before dawn," when certain parts of the Law are recited. Then they march up the mountain to the twelve stones which they believe to have been placed there by Joshua, according to Deut. xxvii. 4, reading Gerizim for Ebal. Taking off their shoes (for it is holy ground) "they shall approach them and bow down and kiss them"; then, after several prayers, "they shall descend to the altar of Adam," reciting the passage from Marqah's Litany, quoted above (p. 126)—thence to the altar of Seth, the altar of Isaac, and the altar of Noah, where the service comes to an end.

The other festival services resemble one another in their general plan. They open with the קטף (see below); then follow certain general prayers, among others the על רחמיך פתח quoted above, then sections of the Law usually accompanied by parts of the Durrân or Marqah. Next come short ascriptions of praise (ישרבה) interspersed with either passages of the law or hymns. Here is an example of a ישרבה from the service for the *זמורת הסכות*: "The God of gods in his greatness blessed and sanctified this day of the Sabbath of the conjunction, which is the gate of the feasts of the Lord, which he appointed by the hand of the great prophet Moses, the man of God. Happy art thou, O holy people! if thou pray with heart and soul and say earnestly: And the Lord God planted [then the readers answer] A garden in Eden" Then follow more passages from the Law, and afterwards the distinctive part of the service, hymns specially composed for the occasion. Besides the festival services, there are special prayers for marriage, circumcision, and burial. The קטף, a great feature of the Liturgies, requires some description. The following is a specimen from the beginning of the *הזכרון* קטף: "and God remembered Noah and every living thing (Gen. viii. 1); and I will remember my covenant which is between me and you (Gen. ix. 15), and I

will look upon it that I may remember the everlasting covenant¹ to the end¹ (Gen. ix. 16); and God remembered Abraham (Gen. xix. 29); and God remembered Rachel (Gen. xxx. 22),” and so on. It will be seen that it simply consists of biblical passages containing a mention of remembering, strung together without any connection. Sometimes the קטף is made up of whole verses, sometimes, as in this specimen, of short fragments. Various explanations of these selections have been proposed. Perhaps the truth may be that they served originally, when the Liturgy consisted chiefly of biblical passages, as headings of the parts to be recited (something like the Talmudic סימנים), and that afterwards, when the services grew in length, the headings only were read.

Now even a cursory inspection of the contents of the festival services in the light of the chronology here sketched will show that they date no farther back, as mentioned above, than the fourteenth century. The question then arises, Whence came the plan of these special services, and whence the views expressed in the later hymns? A few passages in answer to the latter question may perhaps indicate the answer to the former. If the Samaritans, while priding themselves on observing the law in every detail, did not develop certain doctrines till late in their history, the Pentateuch cannot indicate them with any clearness. But it is well known that the Samaritans reject all the Jewish Canon except the five books of Moses;² and from the fact that they have no dealings with the Jews, it is generally supposed that they have no acquaintance with Jewish literature either canonical or rabbinical. If it can be shown that the contrary is true, we shall be justified in suspecting that most of the later developments of doctrine, which they hold in common with the Jews, as

¹ *I.e.*, to the end of the *section*: see note 2 on the Order for reading the Law.

² Their book of Joshua, in Arabic, is quite different from the biblical book, and comparatively late.

well as the general plan of the liturgy, may be referred to Jewish sources. The Talmudic passages relating to intercourse with Samaritans have been often quoted,¹ so that it is unnecessary to go into them here. Let us see what evidence there is from the Samaritan side. It is admitted that their Targum² bears some relation to Onqelos, and Abu Said (11th century) was evidently indebted to Saadiah in making his version. He was in fact led to translate the Law because he found the people using Saadiah's work, under the impression that it was by Ābulhassan.

But even in the 14th century, when it might be supposed that there was less intercourse, we find the same. In the "Legends of Moses,"³ reference is made to Moses Maimonides, who is cursed as a heretic and perverter of the Law: and the history of Saul, David and Solomon is noticed, with an endeavour to cast discredit upon them. The last is especially singled out for condemnation as being the cause of schism in Israel by building the "rival" Temple at Jerusalem. In the same treatise a passage of Isaiah (ii. 3), *כי מציון תצא תורה ודבר יי מירושלם*, is quoted and explained in the sense that "the true law shall desert Jerusalem, the abode of falsehood," and thus the passage is made to bear a meaning agreeable to Samaritan bitterness. Heidenheim in his notes,⁴ points out several parallels in the "Legends" with Rabbinical literature, and argues that the writer had a good knowledge of Midrash. He also thinks that the use of the phrase "Ancient of Days" shows an acquaintance with the book of Daniel—but it may perhaps be derived rather from the Kabbala, a knowledge of which is, from other places, probable. By far the most remark-

¹ See Nutt, *op. cit.*, pp. 42 and 43, note.

² The date of the Samaritan Targum can no more be fixed than that of Onqelos. Traces, however, already occur in Marqah of the existence of some sort of Targum, though it was perhaps only oral.

³ Translated by Dr. Leitner in Heidenheim's *Vierteljahrsschrift*, vol. iv., pp. 184 *seqq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

able, however, in this connection is a commentary by an unknown author, on part of Genesis.¹ It was written in Arabic in 1053 C.E. The author quotes in Hebrew illustrative passages from the books of Joshua, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Psalms, Job, Nehemiah, and Chronicles, besides the Mishna. His quotations are adduced for grammatical, not doctrinal or polemical, purposes. Again, Abulfath, in compiling his Chronicle in 1356, seems to have made a careful study of the historical books of the Bible, even going so far as to imitate the phraseology of the Hebrew original in some cases.² Somewhat later the commentator Ibrahim quotes Eccl. xii. 7: *והרוח תשוב אל כההוד כסף בהוד*: and Ezek. xxii. 22: *האלהים אשר נהנה לנו כור*. The same willingness to borrow (of course without acknowledgment) may be observed in the Liturgies. In a hymn for the Day of Atonement, Abd Allah b. Shelomoh says: *השמים מספרים וגם כל הבוראים כבוד יי ומעשיו הנוראים יגידו לנו בנסתרים ונגללים כי גדול יי מכל האלהים*. "The heavens declare, and also all creation, the glory of the Eternal; and his terrible works show to us, in things hidden and revealed, that the Eternal is great above all gods." Cf. Psalm xix. 2: *השמים מספרים כבוד אל ומעשה ידיו מגיד הרקיע*. The words *וגם כל הבוראים* look as though they had been added by Abd Allah to complete the thought which he considered inadequately expressed in the Psalm. In the same hymn he says: *איך עשית בלא יד שמים ושמיים*: "Hast not thou made without hands the heavens and their heavens, and created by a word all the host of them?" Cf. Ps. xxxiii. 6: *בדברי יי שמים נעשו וברוח פיו כל צבאם*. Farther on, in the same hymn, he says: *אלהינו קרוב לאשר ידרוש אתו*: "Our God is nigh unto him that seeketh him," as Ps. cxlv. 18: *קרוב יי לכל קראיו לכל אשר יקראו באמת*. But Abd Allah may have been copying from Amram, whose words are

¹ Published by Dr. Neubauer in *Journ. Asiat.*, for 1873.

² See *Vilmar*, *op. cit.*, p. xcvi., and cf. pp. lviii and lxxxviii. *seq.*

nearer to the Psalm: **צלוּאן בקשט לשמך יתמרן קריב אתה**
לסגודיך, "Prayers shall be made unto thy name in truth
 thou art nigh unto them that worship thee." The whole
 of this hymn of Abd Allah is exceptionally full of Biblical
 parallels. He seems, like other writers, to have known
 Ps. cxlv. thoroughly, perhaps from the fact of its popularity
 among the Jews.¹ In a hymn of Abisha we read: **הראש**
עלמה, "The beginning of all wisdom and the end thereof is the fear of him who
 fashioned the world." Cf. Prov. i. 7: **ראשית יי ראשית**
 (Targ.: **ראש חכמתא דחלמא דיי**) and Prov. iii. 19:
—the two having been read together.

Coincidences of thought are of course commoner. In
 some hymns in the Defter addressed to the Law (**כתבה רבה**)
 the writer says: **וזאן אתה לשמעיד חיים ומללל אמוריך חסד**,
 "Thou feedest with life them that hear thee, and crownest
 with grace them that read thee." Farther on: **כל רגו רב**
אתה, "Every great plague thou makest to cease: all healing cometh through thee." In the
 next hymn: **הו מדכי רוחיה הו מקדש**, "It is the healing of life: it
 cleanseth the spirit: it halloweth the soul: it converteth the
 heart." So in the hymn which follows, it is called **קוממה**
דחיינו, "The restoring of our life," and **ממלל דחיי**, "The
 word of life." The similarity of these hymns to Ps. cxix.
 in general is so striking, that it is sufficient to mention the
 fact; but other passages may also be compared, as Ps. xix. 8
תורת יי תמימה משיבת נפש פקודי יי ישרים משמחי
לב מצות יי ברה מאירת עינים יראת יי טהורה וג'
 So the Law is called often **נהיר**. It is curious to observe
 that on Ps. xix. 8, Rashi says of the Torah: **גם היא מאירה**
בשמש וכו', and refers to Prov. vi. 23, while the Samaritan
 writer of the hymn quoted goes on to say, without much

¹ Talm. B. *Berach.*, 4b, **כל האומר תהלה לדוד בכל יום שלש פעמים**,
מובטח לו שהוא בן העולם הבא :

consequence of thought : ליתו ד'מי' למאוריה דאנון כסין וגלין כל יום דו.....מניר בלילה ואיממה, "It (the Torah) is not like the lights (of heaven), for they set and rise every day, but this is the great roll which gives light among us night and day." It looks as though he had read Rashi's comment and was anxious to correct his comparison, since elsewhere the Torah is compared to the sun.

These passages are only meant as a slight indication of the extent of the Samaritan debt to Jewish literature, which will become more evident on a careful study of the texts. Nor is this surprising. Jewish literature was easily accessible at least to the learned among Samaritan writers, and through their means the later Jewish teaching, by its harmony with the divine law, could not fail eventually to gain general acceptance. Much might be written on this gradual development of the implicit teaching of the Torah ; but the source of a doctrine is often difficult to trace, while the borrowing of a phrase is more easily detected, and it is for this reason that the above instances only are here chosen.

II.

The order for reading the Law may suitably be added to the above remarks on the Liturgies. After the learned articles of Dr. Büchler, which lately appeared in this Review, it will perhaps not be uninteresting to notice the Samaritan system, as the subject has not been hitherto treated. The text, of which the following is a translation, is in Arabic, prefixed to a MS. (Petermann, i.) of the Samaritan Pentateuch, in the Royal Library at Berlin. I copied it during my last visit there, and give it here precisely as in the text (though the Hebrew quotations are not always exact) only adding the references and numbering the Sabbaths, for convenience. The text is dated A.H. 1172. The cycle, it will be observed, is for one year.

"If God will! We will set forth in this place the arrangement of the order of the holy Law, according to the Sabbath days every year, the course whereof has continued from the earliest times unto our day. This is the order of each book severally. The order of the first book in an ordinary year is for thirteen Sabbaths, beginning with the last Sabbath of the seventh month [Tishri]; that is to say, the Sabbath immediately succeeding the festival of the eighth, and ending with the last Sabbath of the tenth month. But when the first of the seventh month falls on a Friday, then a fifth Sabbath is reckoned in that month, and an additional division is necessary, because the sections must suffice for two Sabbaths in the seventh month, namely, the fourth and fifth Sabbaths. If there be a fifth Sabbath in the eighth, or ninth, or tenth month, then the aforementioned extra section will be necessary, making fourteen Sabbaths. When the first of the seventh month is a Sabbath, the extra division is not necessary, because in that case the order is only begun on the fifth Sabbath. But God knows best.¹ This is the complete division of the first book in an ordinary year, as follows:—

(1) From *וידע אדם* to *בראשית*, Gen. iv. 25; (2) from *וידע אדם* to *אל לבו*, viii. 21²; (3) from *לך לך* to *אל לבו*, xii. 1; (4) from *לך לך* to *ויהי אברהם* (*sic*) xvii. 1; (5) from *ויהי*

¹ This is to say, if Tishri 1st be a Sabbath, then the eighth day of Succoth (Tishri 22nd), will be the fourth Sabbath of the month. But it is laid down above that the law is to be begun on the Sabbath after Tishri 22nd. Hence the fifth Sabbath of Tishri only necessitates an extra sub-division when Tishri 1st is a Friday.

² The Samaritan text of the Law is divided into sections (*קצין*), which are carefully marked in all MSS., and their total number given at the end of each book. In doubtful cases, as here, this division is important, since they always end the lesson with the end of a section, and the words quoted in the text, are always the beginning of a new section, except when the first words are not distinctive. Hence this *אל לבו* cannot be Gen. vi. 6, where the words end the section, but must mean the section beginning *אל לבו* (ויאמר יי), viii. 21, in the middle of the verse. The *קצין* are given in Walton's Polyglot, and in Petermann's Targum, but not in Blayney.

ואברהם זקן to ויי פקד, xxi. 1; (6) from ויי פקד to ואברהם זקן, xxiv. 1; (7) from ואברהם זקן to ואלה תולדת יצחק, xxv. 19; (8) from וישא יעקב רגליו to ואלה תולדת יצחק, xxix. 1; (9) from וישא יעקב רגליו to ורצא דינה, xxxiv. 1; (10) from ורצא דינה to ויוסף הוֹרֵד, xxxix. 1; (11) when there is no additional Sabbath, as explained, the lesson shall be from ויוסף הוֹרֵד to ויבא יוסף הביתה, xliii. 26; but when there is the additional Sabbath, the lesson shall be from ויוסף הוֹרֵד to ויליוסף ילדיו, xli. 50; and (11a) from ויליוסף ילדיו to ויבא יוסף הביתה, xliii. 26; (12) from ויבא יוסף הביתה to ואל שדי, xlvi. 3; (13) from ואל שדי to the end of the book.

As regards the order of the Holy Law in an intercalated year, the first book shall then be divided between eighteen Sabbaths, beginning in the 7th month and continuing to the last Sabbath of the 11th month, including the fifth Sabbath which must fall in one of the five months, to wit: the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, or 11th month. But a subdivision is made at ויליוסף to allow for the fifth Sabbath, whether it be in an ordinary or an intercalated year.

The following is the division of the first book in an intercalated year:—

(1) From בראשית ידע to והאדם, Gen. iv. 1; (2) from והאדם to ואל לבו, viii. 21; (3) from ואל לבו to ויחי לך, xii. 1; (4) from ויחי לך to ויי פקד, xxi. 1; (5) from ויי פקד to ואברהם זקן, xxiv. 1; (6) from ואברהם זקן to ואלה תולדת יצחק, xxv. 19; (7) from ואלה תולדת יצחק to וישא יעקב רגליו, xxix. 1; (8) from וישא יעקב רגליו to ויקם יעקב, xxxiv. 1; (9) from ויקם יעקב to ורצא דינה, xxxiv. 1; (10) from ורצא דינה to וישב יעקב, xxxvii. 1; (11) from וישב יעקב to ויוסף הוֹרֵד, xxxix. 1; (12) from ויוסף הוֹרֵד to ויבא יוסף, xli. 50; (13) from ויבא יוסף to ואלה שמות, xliii. 26; (14) from ואלה שמות to ויבא יוסף הביתה, xliii. 26; (15) from ויבא יוסף הביתה to ואל שדי, xlvi. 3; (16) from ואל שדי to the end. Throughout the reading of the first book shall be said, after the lesson, the first¹ יום שמור את

¹ The text has "second" erased, "first" being written in the margin.

השבת, Exod. xx. 8 (where the Samaritan text has שמור for זכור).

In some intercalated years it happens that there are two fifth Sabbaths, the first of them when the 7th month begins on Friday, and the second occurring in the 11th month. When this happens a further division, besides the above, will be necessary, and it shall take place at *בן פרת*, thus: from *אל שדי*, xlvi. 3, to *בן פרת*, xlix. 22, and from *בן פרת* to the end. But this is of rare occurrence. And God most High is above all and knows all!

The order of the second book is for eight Sabbaths beginning with the first Sabbath of the 11th month and extending to the last Sabbath of the 12th month. If the year contain an intercalary month the Sabbaths are to be reckoned in the 12th month and in the last month. If a fifth Sabbath fall in one of the two months in which this book is read, then the order is for nine Sabbaths: the place (of the extra division) being *ויסע משה*, Exod. xv. 22. The following is the order of the second book:—

(14) From *אלה שמות* to *כי ידבר*, Exod. vii. 9 (8); (15) from *ואל אהרן* to *כי ידבר*, xii. 1. On these two Sabbaths, after the lesson, shall be said also the first שמור, Exod. xx. 8; (16) from *ואל אהרן* to *בחדש השלישי*, xix. 1. This is the section appointed for the day of the conjunction (*i.e.*, *צמורת הפסח*), and after the section is to be read *כי תשא*, Exod. xxx. 12. If there be a fifth Sabbath, as mentioned, the lesson shall be from *ואל אהרן* to *ויסע משה*, xv. 22, and (16*a*) from *ויסע משה* to *בחדש השלישי*, xix. 1; (17) from *בחדש השלישי* to *ויקהו*, xix. 1; (18) from *ויקהו* to *לי תרומה*, xxv. 2; (19) from *לי תרומה* to *וזה הדבר*, xxix. 1; (20) from *וזה הדבר* to *אל משה*, xxxi. 18; (21) from *אל משה* to *ויעש את הקרשים*, xxxvi. 20; (22) from *ויעש את הקרשים* to the end. From the Sabbath after the conjunction to the lesson *וזה הדבר*, there shall be said after the lesson, *וְאַתָּה דבר*, Ex. xxxi. 13, and on the last (of those) Sabbaths (*i.e.* No. 19) the passage mentioned closes the lesson, and the reader shall read with a loud voice *מחלליה* מות יומת, xxxi. 14, and the congregation shall finish the

reading from the place **ושמרו בני ישראל את השבת** xxxi. 16, to the end of the passage. On the last two Sabbaths (*i.e.* Nos. 20 and 21), after the lesson, shall be said **דבר אל כל עדת**, Lev. xix. 2.

The order of the third book is for eight Sabbaths, every year, without addition or exception. They are the first two Sabbaths of the first month (Nisan) and the six Sabbaths in Hamâsin, ending with the Sabbath of Amalek. The order is as follows:—

(22) From **ויקרא אל משה** to **צוי את אהרן**, Lev. vi. 2; (23) from **צוי את אהרן** to **וישא אהרן**, ix. 22. On these two Sabbaths, after the lesson, is to be said **מועדי**, xxiii. 2.¹ (24) from **וישא אהרן** to the first **ואיש או אשה**, xiii. 38; (25) from **ואיש או אשה** to **אחרי**, xvi. 1; (26) from **אחרי** to **ובקצירכם**, xix. 9; (27) from **ובקצירכם** to **מועדי**, xxiii. 2; (28) from **מועדי** to **בחקותי**, xxvi. 3; (29) from **בחקותי** to the end. On the Sabbath of **הים**, the Sabbath of **מרד**, the Sabbath of **אילים** and the Sabbath of **המן**, after the lesson, shall be said **וכפרתם**, xxiii. 15. On the Sabbath of **הצור** and the Sabbath of **עמלק**, after the lesson, shall be said **שבעה שבועות**, Deut. xvi. 9.

The order of the fourth book is for eight Sabbaths, but in some years it extends over only seven Sabbaths, namely, when no fifth Sabbath falls in any of the first four months, for the beginning of this book takes place on the Sabbath next after the festival of the Pilgrimage of the Harvest (**מועד חג הקציר**), and extends to the first Sabbath of the fifth month, as follows:—

(30) From **במדבר סיני** to **קחת את ראש בני קהת**, Num. iv. 2; (31) from **קחת את ראש בני קהת** to **דבר אל אהרן**, viii. 2 (1). On those two Sabbaths, after the lesson, shall be said **דבר אל אהרן**; (32) from **דבר אל אהרן** to **שלח לך**, xiii. 2; (33) from **שלח לך** to **ויקה קרח**, xvi. 1; (34) from **ויקה קרח** to **וישלח משה מלאכים**, xx. 14; (35) from **וישלח משה מלאכים** to **פנחם**, xxvi. 11 (10). On these four Sabbaths, after the

¹ Then follow Pesah and Mazzoth, with their proper lessons.

lessons, shall be said צוֹי אֶת קֶרְבָּנִי, xxviii. 2; (36) from וִיהִי הַמִּלְקָח to פְּנֹחֶם, xxxi. 32; (37) from וִיהִי הַמִּלְקָח to the end of the book. On these two Sabbaths, after the lesson, shall be said the second שְׁמוֹר, Deut. v. 12, to the end of the section (ver. 15). If there be no fifth Sabbath in any of the four months named above, the lesson, from פְּנֹחֶם to the end of the book, shall be taken as one.—And God is more wise!

The following is the order of the fifth book for eight Sabbaths, beginning with the second Sabbath of the 5th month and extending to the second Sabbath of the 7th month, called the Sabbath of Hiscantî.¹ If a fifth Sabbath fall in the 5th or 6th month, the order shall be for nine Sabbaths, dividing at בָּנִים אֶרֶם (xiv. 1). In some years this Sabbath, called Hiscantî, does not occur, because, when the first of the 7th month falls on a Thursday, it (Hiscantî) coincides with the Day of Atonement; and if the first of the 7th month fall on a Sabbath, it (Hiscantî) will be the Sabbath of the ten days of Penitence. In such case the order of the fifth book will be for seven Sabbaths, and the completion of the Holy Law will take place on the last Sabbath of the 6th month, and its lesson will be increased so as to finish the book, from הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה to the end of the Holy Law.²

The order is as follows:—

(38) From אֱלֹהֵי הַדְּבָרִים to רְאוּ לִמְדָתִי, Deut. iv. 5, and after the lesson is to be said the second שְׁמוֹר, Deut. v. 12; (39) from רְאוּ לִמְדָתִי to כִּי יִבְיֹאכֶם, vii. 1. This is the lesson appointed for the day of the conjunction (*i.e.*, צְמֹות הַסְכּוֹת). In the last section of it, וַהֲיָה כִּי יִשְׁאַלְךָ, vi. 20, the reader shall read with a loud voice אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּע יי לְאַבְרָהָם, ver. 23, and the congregation shall finish it together, with a loud voice,

¹ הַסְכָּנְתָּ should stand for הַסְכָּנְתָּ, but it apparently has some reference to Num. xxii. 30 (הַסְכָּנְתָּ), the only place in the Pentateuch where the word occurs.

² The first Sabbath of the 7th month, having a proper lesson in any case, is not counted.

from וַיִּצְוֵנוּ, ver. 24, to the end of the passage. After that they say *כי תשא*, Exod. xxx. 12; (40) from *כי יביאכם* to *שופטים*, xi. 31; (41) from *כי אֶתֶם עֲבָרִים*, xvi. 18. When there occurs a fifth Sabbath, as mentioned above, the lesson shall be from *כי אֶתֶם עֲבָרִים* to *בָּנִים אֶתֶם*, xiv. 1, and (41*a*) from *בָּנִים אֶתֶם* to *שופטים*, xvi. 18; (42) from *שופטים* to the first *אִישׁ אִשָּׁה*, xxii. 13; (43) from *אִישׁ אִשָּׁה* to *כי יקח*, xxvi. 16; (44) from *הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה* to *וְהָיָה כִּי יָבֹאוּ*, xxx. 1; (45) from *וְהָיָה כִּי יָבֹאוּ* to the end of the Holy Law. If the order happen to be for seven Sabbaths, as afore mentioned, then the (last) lesson shall be from *הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה* to the end of the Law. And God is more wise!

After the Sabbath of the conjunction, shall be said at the end of the lesson *וַיִּשְׁכַּן*, Deut. xxxiii. 28 (?), and on the Sabbath of the lesson *אִישׁ אִשָּׁה* (No. 43), the end of which is the passage *כִּי תִכְלֶה* xxvi. 12-15, the reader shall read with a loud voice, *עֲשִׂיתִי כֹכֵל אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתָנִי* (ver. 14), and the congregation shall finish it together from *הִשְׁקֵף קִדְשֶׁךָ* (ver. 15) to the end of the passage. And God most High is above all and knows all!"

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